1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi*, Krusenstern says (16, p. 167):

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (live or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 592 357 689 For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a*, which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. At Pua Ma'u the relation- 592 ship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just 622 described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived 357 in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka*, skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana*, and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoana* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto*. Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs.

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka!"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-ī'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense.

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii.

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun-

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected